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Searching for Evidence of Southwestern Dialect Features in Australia through Charles Adam Corbyn's *Sydney Revels of Bacchus, Cupid, and Momus* (1856): A Corpus-Based Analysis

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The work presented in this MA thesis is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original and my own work, except as acknowledged in the text. The work in this thesis has not been submitted, either in whole or in part, for a degree at this or any other university.

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Abstract

The present study examines the concept of linguistic diaspora in Australia and how it is presented in Charles Adam Corbyn's *Sydney Revels (The Eighteen-Fifties) of Bacchus, Cupid and Momus; Being Choice and Humorous Selections from Scenes at the Sydney Police Office and Other Public Places, during the Last Three Years* (1854). To do so, I firstly explained Jenkins' concept of diaspora and, more precisely, the First Diaspora in Australia (2009), so as to subsequently describe the Australian linguistic landscape in the 19th century, which led to the formation of Australian English. This study has relied on previous research on the linguistic diaspora to Australia based on Corbyn's work, like Burridge's article (2010). However, what all the previous studies have failed to consider is Corbyn's geographical background, which could have influenced the portrayal of dialectal speech. In this way, I did a thorough investigation on Corbyn's past, which led me to discover that he originated from the Southwest of England. After that, I did a corpus-based analysis on the phonological, grammatical and lexical features that appeared in the reports, with the aim of testing whether Corbyn reproduced faithfully dialectal speech or if he was being influenced by the dialect of his place of origin. To do this, I sought for those reports in which dialectal speech was represented and I grouped them into six subcorpora based on the variety of English of the people described in each report: Scottish English, African-American Vernacular English and New York English, Chinese Pidgin English, London English, Irish English and unknown background speakers.

Keywords: linguistic diaspora, First Diaspora, Australian English, Charles Adam Corbyn, dialectal speech, Southwest, phonology, grammar, lexis.

Resumen

El presente estudio examina el concepto de diáspora lingüística en Australia y cómo se presenta en la obra de Charles Adam Corbyn *Sydney Revels (The Eighteen-Fifties) of Bacchus, Cupid and Momus; Being Choice and Humorous Selections from Scenes at the Sydney Police Office and Other Public Places, during the Last Three Years* (1854). Para ello, en primer lugar se ha explicado el concepto de diáspora según Jenkins y, más concretamente, la Primera Diáspora en Australia (2009), para posteriormente describir el panorama lingüístico en Australia en el siglo XIX, que condujo a la formación de la variedad estándar del inglés australiano. El estudio se ha fundamentado en investigaciones anteriores sobre la diáspora lingüística en Australia basadas en la obra de Corbyn, como el artículo de Burridge (2010). Sin embargo, lo que todos los estudios previos no han tenido en cuenta es el origen geográfico de Corbyn, ya que podría haber influido en la representación del habla dialectal. De esta manera, se ha hecho una profunda investigación sobre el pasado de Corbyn, que llevó a descubrir que era originario del suroeste de Inglaterra. Después, se ha realizado un análisis de corpus sobre los rasgos fonológicos, gramaticales y léxicos que aparecían en los informes, con el objetivo de comprobar si Corbyn reproducía fielmente el habla dialectal o si estaba siendo influenciado por su lugar de origen. Para ello, se buscaron los informes en los que el habla dialectal estaba representado y se agruparon en seis subcorpus basados en la variedad de inglés de las personas descritas en cada informe: inglés escocés, inglés vernacular afroamericano e inglés neoyorquino, inglés pidgin chino, inglés londinense, inglés irlandés y hablantes de origen desconocido.

Palabras clave: diáspora lingüística, Primera Diáspora, inglés australiano, Charles Adam Corbyn, habla dialectal, Suroeste, fonología, gramática, léxico.

Table of Contents

1. Introduction

The history of the English language is a history of language spread. It has evolved from being the result of a mixture of Germanic dialects in a part of Britain to being not only the official language of several countries, but a global language and a lingua franca, the vehicular language of those people whose first language is not English. As a consequence of this spread, different varieties have been inevitably emerging. In fact, one of the main and first causes of this great dialectal variation was the expansion of the British Empire to different areas in the world during the early 17th and early 19th centuries (Hickey, "Dialects" 33). Mercantilism and the colonisation of territories such as the United States, Canada, the Caribbean, Australia, New Zealand, South and West Africa, South and South-East Asia and the South Pacific (Crystal, *Stories* 418-447), together with the fact that during this period where "[British English] had not yet fully stabilized and certain words and spelling patterns had alternatives freely available to all English writers," (qtd. in Algeo 424) led to the origin and development of the so-called *World Englishes*.

Several approaches to the concept of *World Englishes* have been done, and although classifications are still controversial due to the many perspectives from which varieties can be categorised[1], Jenkins mentions that their origins can be traced from two dispersals of English. They are referred to as the First and Second Diasporas. While the first one (early 17th century – 18th century) led to "new mother-tongue varieties of

[1] Galloway and Rose (8) believe that this two-diaspora model focuses simply on the expansion of English as a result of colonisation. They proposed a different model consisting of four channels of English spread: Channel One deals with settler colonisation (e.g., convict settlements in Australia), Channel Two is concerned with slavery (e.g., plantations in Jamaica), Channel Three focuses on mercantilism and exploitation colonies (e.g., local trading ports in India) and Chanell Four covers the spread of English as a result of globalisation (e.g., the spread of English to China).

English" and correspond to the varieties of English spoken in North America, Australia, and New Zealand; the second one (late 18th century – 19th century) gave rise to the development of what several scholars nowadays term *New Englishes*, corresponding to those countries in which English is spoken as a second language, as in South Africa, South and South-East Asia, South Pacific, and Colonial Africa (5-6).

In fact, the spread of English did not occur in the same way in every place. Regarding the First Diaspora, it consisted of massive migrations of English natives from England, Scotland, and Ireland. The reason why nowadays there are different varieties of native English is because the English spoken in North America and Australasia developed in dissimilar geographical, historical, sociological, linguistic, and sociolinguistic contexts (Jenkins 5). More precisely, the expansion of English into Australia is worth noting due to its distinctiveness and its mixed linguistic character. Its origins date back to James Cook's (1729-1779) arrival in Queensland in 1770[2], and the subsequent fleet on 26 January 1788. Over the next fifty years, since British jails where overcrowded, around 150,000 prisoners were transported from Britain and Ireland, especially after the 1775 American Revolution and the 1798 Irish rebellion. From the 1820s, "free settlers" began to migrate to Australia, and by 1850, the population grew to 400,000 inhabitants (Beal "Beyond" 215; Crystal, *Stories* 439; Jenkins 7; Kiesling, "Input" 419). Regarding the linguistic landscape during the late 18th and early 19th century, Australia has been defined as a "linguistic melting pot," "a situation of dialect

[2] According to *Britannica*, James Cook (born October 27, 1728, Marton-in-Cleveland, Yorkshire, England—died February 14, 1779, Kealakekua Bay, Hawaii) was a "British naval captain, navigator, and explorer who sailed the seaways and coasts of Canada (1759 and 1763–67) and conducted three expeditions to the Pacific Ocean (1768–71, 1772–75, and 1776–79), ranging from the Antarctic ice fields to the Bering Strait and from the coasts of North America to Australia and New Zealand." One of his ultimate goals in the Pacific expeditions was to reach "the Great South Land," which Cook and his *Endeavour* reached in 1770, and claimed this territory for Great Britain, where he arrived on August 22, 1770 (*New South Wales State Library*).

mixing" that brought together speakers principally from London and the Southeast of England, Ireland, and Scotland (Burridge 297; Jenkins 7; Taylor 317-318). Moreover, according to Crystal, together with this dialect input, the variety of English that was emerging contained linguistic features from the aboriginal languages and was later influenced by American English and several immigrant groups from all over the world (*Global Language* 41). Therefore, we can assert that Australian English is the result of the mixing of varieties that were spoken in this contact zone throughout the years.

In fact, written records play a very important role for the account of this language combination that existed in Australia during the period of colonisation and in the following centuries. More precisely, several scholars agree that Charles Adam Corbyn's *Sydney Revels of Bacchus, Cupid, and Momus; Being Choice and Humorous Selections from Scenes at the Sydney Police Office and Other Public Places, during the Last Three Years* (1856) is a very illustrative example of this linguistic situation, given that it takes account of the "dialect melting pot in urban Sydney in the 1850s" (Burridge 301), as it "peep[s] into the lives of ordinary people and [we can] hear them speak with their own voices" (qtd. in Burridge 301). Through the use of strategies for the written representations of dialect, such as respellings and non-standard grammar and lexis, Corbyn (1816-?) depicts the speech of the various people that are judged at the police station, attempting to reveal their place of provenance.

This dissertation, consequently, aims to scrutinise the respellings and non-standard grammar and lexis that appear in Corbyn's previously mentioned report so as to explore the representation of the different varieties that coexisted in the 19th-century Australia. For this purpose, this paper will firstly explore the formation of Australian English through the linguistic landscape of Australia during the periods under

discussion. After that, I will provide a linguistic analysis of Corbyn's report considering his own origins, as well as previous research on the work.

2. The Australian Linguistic Landscape and the Formation of Australian English

As explained above, the origins of standard Australian English can be traced from the blending of different varieties of English, such as London English, Southeastern English, Irish English, and Scottish English; and the contact with aboriginal languages.

In this way, the first glimpse of Australian English may be explained through the evolution of a pidgin, defined by Crystal as "a language with a markedly reduced grammatical structure, lexicon and stylistic range, … formed by two mutually unintelligible speech communities attesting to communicate, each successively approximating to the more obvious features of the other's language" (*Dictionary*, 369). Given that pidgins are active languages, they transform and over time become creoles, "the mother tongue of a speech community" (Crystal, *Dictionary* 122). The recurrent contact between the inputs from different speech communities, aborigines, white settlers and the subsequent migrations from southern Europe and America led to the development of two main varieties: Aboriginal Australian English and the so-called Wogspeak, which eventually led to the emergence of an output form "embodying the country's national identity" (Burridge and Kortmann 568-572; Collins 83; Hickey, "Scenarios" 17; Kiesling, "Australia" 80).

In line with this view, other scholars understand the formation of postcolonial varieties like Australian English as a process of koineisation[3] consisting of three stages: in a nutshell, Trudgill explains that in "Stage 1, the speech of the first settlers shows rudimentary levelling and elimination of minority features through accommodation." The second stage presents a first generation of native-born settlers, "characterised by considerably inter- and intra-speaker variability." Finally, the last stage presents a second generation of native-born settlers, whose speech is defined as "an identifiable stable new dialect" that emerged from "mixing, levelling, unmarking and reallocation focusing" of the preceding stage (qtd. in Burridge 297).

In a very similar way, Schneider proposed a fivefold process in the formation of Australian English that differs from the former in its social, cultural and political approach: the first phase relates the colony foundation with "dialect mixture and koineisation," followed by a phase of "exonormative stabilisation," in which English-speaking settlers recognise themselves as British. Phase 3, referred to as the "nativisation" process, witnesses the emergence of local patterns in the speech of these settlers. Then, there is an "endonormative stabilisation," which sees the emergence of an "Australian self-confidence" and the codification of rules. Finally, the last phase recognises the birth of a new dialect from differentiation with other English varieties (qtd in Burridge 297).

[3] Crystal understands the term "koine" as "the spoken language of a locality which has become a standard language or lingua franca. It is now applied to cases where a vernacular has come to be used throughout an area in which several languages or dialects are spoken" (*Dictionary* 262). Therefore, a process of koineisation involves the emergence of a standard variety as a result of the blending of several dialects.

However, as Beal explains, social stratification between convicts and free settlers eventually led to present-day variation in Australian English[4], distinguishing three different main sociolects: the first, Broad Australian, has its origins in the assimilation of the different dialects that were spoken by the first convicts and their descendants. Internal migration by free settlers led to General Australian, which is closer to British English. Lastly, Cultivated Australian, which was originally related to the speech of the high social classes, has been regarded as more prestigious than the previous sociolects due to its resemblance to RP ("Beyond" 215-217).

On the whole, Australian English can be defined as a postcolonial variety of English that emerged from a complex process based on the mixture, levelling and koineisation of all the dialects that were spoken during the late 18th and early 19th-century Australia. Its further development due to social stratification allowed its establishment as a standard variety of English.

3. Exploring Language Diaspora in Charles Adams Corbyn's *Sydney Revels of Bacchus, Cupid, and Momus* (1856)

Several studies on the English diaspora in Australia have relied on Charles Adams Corbyn's 1856 renown judicial reports as an illustration of the postcolonial Australian linguistic landscape. More precisely, they have tried to analyse the many varieties that Corbyn represents in this book, such as Irish English, Cockney, Scottish English, African American Vernacular English, New York English, Chinese Pidgin English and even the speech of those speakers whose background is obscure (Burridge 304-319; Kiesling, "Input" 426-429; Taylor 319-320). These studies have confirmed

[4] See Horvath's "Australian English: Phonology" in *A Handbook of Varieties of English* for a more detailed account of present-day variation in AusE and its origins, together with auditory descriptions of the AusE phonological system.

that Corbyn was aware of the great variety of dialects and languages that coexisted in Sydney at that time. Notwithstanding their claims, none of these studies have considered Corbyn's place of origin in the representation of this great linguistic variation, "since this could have an influence on the way he represented his speakers" (Burridge 302) and it could lead to a better understanding of the dialectal markers that appear especially in those reports that include speakers of unknown origin. In this way, the next section will firstly discuss the findings on Corbyn's origins, with the aim of subsequently analyse his reports considering previous research as well as those phonological, grammatical and lexical traits that could hint at the influence of his own dialect when representing other varieties of English.

3.1. Findings on Charles Adams Corbyn (1816-?)

As stated above, from all the empirical works that have analysed Corbyn's reports as a source for information for early Australian English, none of them have considered that Corbyn's original background could have influenced the way in which he reflected the speech of the numerous people who were condemned at the police station. Only Burridge, who did believe that his background was crucial in the representation of speech, did some research on Corbyn's life. She discovered a newspaper called *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser*[5], published on 18th June 1835, in which he confessed to have stolen "gold watches and other valuable property belonging to Sir Charles Forbes," with whom he had been dining, hence Burridge's assumption that Corbyn belonged to a prestigious social class. Together with this, later newspapers declared that Corbyn, around 18 years old, "ended up one of the 280 convicts transported [to Australia] on 26th October 1835" after having reportedly

[5] This newspaper is available at *Trove* (https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/article/2198686).

tried to commit suicide (302). Although these findings are crucial to shed light on Corbyn's sociological context, they do not provide any insight into what could have been his linguistic background.

Considering that he was a convict transported to Australia, I investigated some of the most reliable sources that collected data on English prisoners and transported convicts at that time. The two principal sources containing information about Corbyn are *The Digital Panopticon* (https://www.digitalpanopticon.org/) and *Convict Records* (https://convictrecords.com.au/), being the former "a collaborative research project funded by the United Kingdom Arts and Humanities Research Council [that traces] the criminal and wider life histories of the approximately 90,000 offenders sentenced at the Old Bailey to transportation to Australia or imprisonment within Britain between 1780 and 1925" (Ward and Williams 2016). In the same vein, the latter consists of a database containing "British transportation registers [from] 1787 [to] 1867 … compiled by *State Library of Queensland from British Home Office Records*, which are available on microfilm as part of the Australian Joint Copying Project" (*Convict Records*). Results from both databases – collected from *British Transportation Registers*, *Convict Indents (Ship and Arrivals Registers)*, *Newgate Calendars of Prisoners for Trial* and *Old Bailey Proceedings* – indicate that he was born in Dorset in 1816. This fact is corroborated by the results found in *Ancestry*[6] (https://www.ancestry.com.au/), which contains direct evidence from the *Church of England Births and Baptisms 1813-1906*, proving that he was actually born and raised there. Further information about his imprisonment and trial confirms and expands Burridge's findings. Results reveal that he was accused of

[6] *Ancestry* is one of the most reliable sources dealing with information related to historical records and family trees. However, access to this database requires premium membership, therein the difficulty to obtain large amounts of data.

"stealing, on the 28th of September, at St. Pancras," and that he actually stole "[three] watches, value 100l; [three] seals, value 17l; [one] snuff-box, value 30l; [one] ring, value 6l; and [one] watch key, value 1l [from] Sir Charles Forbes in his dwelling-house" (Old Bailey). He was pleaded guilty and sentenced to transportation to New South Wales for twenty-one years, where he arrived the 25th of February 1836 at the age of 20 with 281 other convicts. Unfortunately, none of the abovementioned databases are able to find information related to his death.

In closing, these findings may lead us to believe that Corbyn's speech could bear features of the Dorset dialect, or of the Southwestern dialect in more general terms. The fact that previous studies on this work are not able to identify some of the dialectal markers that Corbyn includes in his reports (Burridge 301) may be evidence that his background could be influencing the way in which he represents their speech. Consequently, the following sections will analyse Corbyn's reports considering not only previous research, but also bearing in mind that the phonological, grammatical and lexical traits could hint at southwestern dialect features.

3.2. A Linguistic Analysis

Corbyn's work is a compilation of "the most entertaining and most humorous" (Corbyn iv) situations at a police station in Sydney. In the preface to these judicial reports, he claims that he has been publishing in the □ □ □, a Sydney newspaper for which he had been working (iv). These judicial reports are of short length, and they usually present the same structure: firstly, Corbyn describes the person that has been accused of a crime; after that, he narrates the unfolding events at the courtroom; and finally, he explains the sentence that has been imposed on every

individual. Sometimes, he reproduces the conversations that are held at the police station. Since he seemingly writes the events as they are happening, he tries to reflect the authorities and the sentenced persons' speech. This is actually very useful, as Corbyn does not always express their place of origin, so the strategies for the written representation of non-standard speech are a valuable guide to determine their geographical background.

Therefore, this section will provide a linguistic analysis of those strategies that aim at representing the dialect of the place of origin of those people described by Corbyn. More precisely, it will scrutinise those strategies related to phonology, grammar and vocabulary, such as semi-phonetic spellings, non-standard grammatical and syntactical constructions and non-standard lexis. The analysis will also indicate where these non-standard forms have been attested in, with the aim of testing whether Corbyn described dialectal speech faithfully or he was being influenced by the dialect of his place of origin – Dorset, or in more general terms, the Southwest of England.

3.2.1. Methodology

The analysis was conducted through a corpus-based analysis[7] of the text, which was found in *Trove* (https://trove.nla.gov.au/)[8], and it was available in TXT format. However, it contained many transliteration errors, so a complete and exhaustive revision was necessary for further analysis. When corrections were finished, the corpus was analysed with the help of the Corpus Linguistics tool *AntConc*.

[7] In a nutshell, a corpus-based approach is used to analyse this corpus because the main goal was to explore a hypothesis, in contrast to the corpus-driven approach, a philosophy that aims at gathering information so as to reach conclusions through examination "without prior assumptions and expectations" (See Tognini-Bonelli's *Corpus Linguistics at Work* (2001) for a more detailed account of the differences between these approaches to corpus studies).

[8] *Trove* is "an Australian online library database … which includes full text documents, digital images, bibliographic and holdings data of items which are not available digitally" (Wikipedia).

The total corpus consists of 53,075 words, with 8,204 types and 53,402 tokens. However, not all of the reports of which Corbyn is a witness reproduce conversations, and therefore, they do not reflect the speech of the people in the courtroom, so they are not useful for the purpose of the phonological analysis. Consequently, I sought for those reports in which Corbyn reflected the conversations in direct style, considering Burridge's classification (331-347). Therefore, the numerous reports containing dialogues have been arranged according to the geographical origin of the speakers that appear in each report. In this way, the original corpus was reorganised into six subcorpora, as can be seen in the table below:

Table 1 Information about the Subcorpora

Speakers' background	**N texts**	**N words**	**Types**	**Tokens**
Scottish	1	389	216	391
AAVE/New York English (NY)	1	600	316	632
Chinese Pidgin English	2	518	313	528
London	3	1,253	608	1,270
Irish	12	4,476	1,475	4,549
Unknown	23	14,029	3,341	13,970
Total	41	21,018	4,203	21,084

Given these premises, the main aim of this linguistic analysis is, firstly, to account for those phonological, grammatical and lexical traits that do not correspond with the Standard English form; and secondly, to corroborate the usage of these variant features in the different varieties that are being represented in the judicial reports or in

the southwestern variety by means of a comprehensive search in the *English Dialect Dictionary* (*EDD*), the *Oxford Dialect Dictionary* (*OED*) and linguistic handbooks and glossaries of the different varieties.

3.3. Phonological Analysis

The use of semi-phonetic spellings is a weighty strategy for the written representation of dialects since they evoke the possible dialectal pronunciation[9]. In this section, dialectal spellings have been arranged according to the geographical background of the speakers and their pronunciation in Standard English, classifying the different sounds into long vowels, short vowels, diphthongs and consonants. The main objective of this phonological analysis is to determine whether Corbyn faithfully represents the dialect he is trying to portray or if he includes any characteristic not specific to the dialect represented that can be attributed to his place of origin. The theoretical explanations given in this part come from the pronunciation expected according to the spelling consistency in Standard English and from secondary sources.

3.3.1. Scottish Background Speakers

This subcorpus consists of only one report, the only one in which Corbyn represents the speech of a Scottish background speaker.

3.3.1.1. Short Vowels

Although it does not reveal any change in pronunciation, RP /ɪ/ (the KIT vowel) is represented by means of <ay>, as in <Saydnay>. Burridge claims that this spelling suggests "an attempt to represent the central Scots KIT vowel," (310), which according

[9] Colloquialisms, vulgarisms and eye-dialect forms have not been included in the analysis as a category per se (except where indicated) since they do not reveal any dialectal change in pronunciation.

to Stuart-Smith, its quality can be found between [ɪ] and [ë] and can be realised as [ˈɛ~ë~ʌ~ɪ] in urban Scots contexts (53). This Scots vowel, according to Herbison et al., is represented by [ï], meaning that the sound is "distinctively back and nasal in Ulster-Scots" and the spelling convention used to represent this sound was <ä> or <ai> (7), which may explain the spelling of the word under analysis in this part.

Table 2 Short Vowels (Scottish Background Speakers)

RP	Spellings	Standard spellings	Tokens	Examples
/ɪ/	<Saydnay>	<Sydney>	1	"I'm na a natif av Saydnay" (65).

3.3.1.2. Long Vowels

In the spelling <theerfur>, RP /ɔː/ (the NORTH vowel) is represented by means of <u>. Burridge claims that this vowel sound may have been raised to [u] due to the following /r/, which "also indicat[es] rhotacism" in the pronunciation (310). On the other hand, Stuart-Smith asserts that in words like <fur>, Scots speakers will be prone to realise [ʌ] (56).

Table 3 Long Vowels (Scottish Background Speakers)

RP	Spellings	Standard spellings	Tokens	Examples
/ɔː/	<theerfur>	<therefore>	1	"[T]heerfur am unable to gie ye the geographical posithun" (65).

3.3.1.3. Diphthongs

Regarding RP /ɛə/ (the SQUARE diphthong) in <theerfur>, this form can be found under the spelling <theirfore> (*OED* s.v. *therefore* adv. and n.), in both cases suggesting

that the possible pronunciation could be [iː]. Burridge claims its raising can be explained through the influence of /r/ (310).

RP /aʊ/ (the MOUTH diphthong) is represented by means of <oo>, as in <doot>. The spelling may represent the long close back vowel /uː/. As Stuart-Smith explains, the vowel [ʉ], which represents a front sound, tends to appear in Scots instead of the diphthong (59). In fact, we can confirm that this form is chiefly Scottish, as several entries in the *EDD* confirms its usage in Scots: "Ye hae forgotten the bit whilking lassie, nae doot, that drave oot yer worthy faither's stirks" (qtd. in *EDD* s.v. *doot*).

Table 4 Diphthongs (Scottish Background Speakers)

RP	Spellings	Standard spellings	Tokens	Examples
/ɛə/	<theerfur>	<therefore>	1	"[T]heerfur am unable to gie ye the geographical posithun" (65).
/aʊ/	<doot>	<doubt>	1	"I dinna doot he'll ensthruct ye as to the desirable spot" (65).

3.3.1.4. Consonants

Dentalisation of /t/ and /d/ appears before /r/, as in <ensthruct> and <murthered>. However, dentalisation is more frequent in Irish than in Scots, where /t/ tends to be glottalised (Stuart-Smith 60-61). In fact, although the *EDD* acknowledges its widespread usage in Ireland, it can also be found in Scots: "To murther and villanie, to scolling and drinking" (qtd. in *EDD* s.v. *murther*).

Lack of palatalisation is present in words such as <posithun>, which Burridge denotes as "curious … [since] the dental substitute is unexpected [in Scots]" (310).

Table 5 Consonants (Scottish Background Speakers)

RP	Spellings	Standard spellings	Tokens	Examples
/t/	<ensthruct>	<instruct>	1	"I dinna doot he'll ensthruct ye as to the desirable spot" (65).
/d/	<murthered>	<murdered>	1	"He had murthered her babby and she" (65).
/ʃ/	<posithun>	<position>	1	"[T]heerfur am unable to give ye the geographical posithun" (65).

3.3.2. AAVE/NY English Background Speakers

This subcorpus, which is also conformed of one report, contains two speakers from North America. One of them is a black person, described with very derogative terms. The other is a witness from New York. Actually, there are few notable features to remark in this subcorpus due to its short length, together with the resemblance of AAVE and New York English to colloquial forms of the standard American variety and the fact their main differences are a matter of accent (Edwards 401; Gordon 284).

Regarding AAVE, the most outstanding feature is the glottalisation of /θ/ and /ð/ both in initial and final position, as in <dat>, <dere>, <dey>, <wid>, <de> and <tinking>. This means that the possible realisation of these phonemes would be [t] and [d], respectively (Edwards 388). The substitution of the initial /ð/ for [d], as in the first three examples, is also common in Southwestern varieties of English, and it seems to be especially frequent in Bristol (Wakelin 29).

Table 6 AAVE Consonants

RP	Spellings	Standard spellings	Tokens	Examples
/ð/	<dat> <de> <dere> <dey> <wid>	<that> <the> <there> <they> <with>	2 4 1 1 1	"The gemman in dat box dere, wid him head and shoulder 'tuck above de board" (39). "[D]ey pull off dat black man's coat" (39).
/θ/	<tinking>	<thinking>	1	"[T]inking de 'pearance of de coloured gemman in de box suspicions" (39).

As for the NY English speaker, there are no significant features that reveal his place of origin. However, his speech is characterised by being rather colloquial and vulgar, as can be seen in the dropping of the initial weak vowel /ə/, as in <Merican>. Regarding consonants, there is metathesis of <sk> and <ks> in <ax> and <axing>. However, this is a very widespread dialectal feature. The use of <arter> in the speech of this person is also worth noting. Although the use of this spelling is widespread, it could hint at the presence of southwestern dialect features, as the *EDD* acknowledges its predominant usage in southwestern varieties such as Somerset and Devon: "I be in good behopes that we mid zee it (trade) a little better arter a bit" (qtd. in *EDD* s.v. *arter*).

Table 7 NY English Vowels and Consonants

RP	Spellings	Standard spellings	Tokens	Examples
/ə/	<Merican>	<American>	1	"'My name's John Hilt; I'm Merican'" (39).
/sk/	<ax> <axing>	<ask> <asking>	1 1	"Who wants to ax me any questions?" (39) "[I]f you've got any more questions to be arter axing me" (40).
/f/	<arter>	<after>	1	"[I]f you've got any more questions to be arter axing me" (40).

3.3.3. Chinese Background Speakers

This subcorpus comprises two reports, the only ones in which Corbyn tries to represent the speech of Chinese background speakers.

3.3.3.1. Vowels

Regarding vowels, perhaps the most outstanding feature is the addition of a vowel after some verbs, as in <gottee>, <givee> and <comee> and after some nouns, as in <piecey>. The spelling suggests that probably this final sound would correspond to the HAPPY vowel (RP /i/, whose quality falls between /iː/ and /ɪ/ (Wells xxiii). According to Hall, the addition of a final vowel, "usually /iː/, sometimes /ə/, /ɑ/, /ɔː/ or /uː/," is a "morphophonemic alteration" in Chinese Pidgin English, and it may occur in "certain words (mostly verbs), ending in a consonant" (96).

Table 8 Vowels (Chinese Pidgin Background Speakers)

RP	Spellings	Standard spellings	Tokens	Examples
Ø	<gottee>	<got>	1	"Me gottee summut else to do" (105).
	<givee>	<give>	2	"You givee me five or six years, and soon as I comee out, I settle that Tartar superhumanary" (125).
	<comee>	<come>	1	
	<piecey>	<piece>	1	"[L]illy piecey roasty child" (105).

3.3.3.2. Consonants

As for consonants, we find that there is a /w/-/v/ exchange in <von> and <werry>. As will be subsequently explained, although widespread, this feature is common in Cockney speakers.

Palatalisation of /s/ can be seen in <dish> 'this'; on the other hand, there is lack of palatalisation in <sal>. As for the fricatives, <dish> also suggests a substitution of the

initial /ð/ for [d], which is a distinguishable feature of Southwestern English, as well as the presence of [t] for Standard /θ/ in <troo> ‘through’ and <notink> ‘nothing’, where there is also a voiceless /k/ in final position, characteristic of Gloucestershire according to the *EDD*.

Table 9 Consonants (Chinese Pidgin Background Speakers)

RP	Spellings	Standard spellings	Tokens	Examples
/w/ /v/	<von> <werry>	<one> <very>	1 1	“Me know von werry capital prayer” (105).
/θ/	<troo> <notink>	<through> <nothing>	2 1	“[N]o, massa, notink but lilly piecey” (104). “[A]nd troo deliv’rance make” (105).
/ð/	<dish> <de>	<this> <the>	1 1	“[A]’tween Sov’ laddie e Queen and dish prisoner at de bor” (105).
/s/	<dish>	<this>	1	“[A]’tween Sov’ laddie e Queen and dish prisoner at de bor” (105).
/ʃ/	<sal>	<shall>	1	“You sal troo and do ley try” (105).

3.3.4. London Background Speakers

This subcorpus, conformed by 3 texts, includes those reports in which Corbyn attempts to represent Cockney speakers.

3.3.4.1. Consonants

The /w/-/v/ exchange, which seems to be common in Cockney (Burridge 306), appears in words such as <avay>, <ven>, <vos> and <Stuvart>.

Dropping of /h/ seems to appear in words such as <ere>, which is one of the most notable features in Cockney (Gimson 88). However, /h/-intrusion seems to appear in words like <hif>, <hinsted> and <hout>, which may hint at the influence of southwestern dialect features, as it is common in this area (Wakelin 31)

Interesting as it may seem, there is apparently no evidence of the replacement of /θ/ and /ð/ by /f/ and /v/, which is another of the most representative characteristics of this dialect (Gimson 88).

Table 10 Consonants (London Background Speakers)

RP	Spellings	Standard spellings	Tokens	Examples
/w/-/v/	<avay>	<away>	2	"[D]on't ye know, ven the cats avay, the mices does play" (53).
	<ven>	<when>	1	
	<vos>	<was>	2	"[M]aster Stewart vos avay" (53).
	<vay>	<way>	1	"[M]ussus Stuvart, who bobs hout on the vay, and hinsted on the jug " (53).
	<Stuvart>	<Stewart>	3	
/h/	<ere>	<here>	2	"That ere lady has things hersel above the likes on me" (117).
∅	<hif>	<if>	1	"Hif Mussus Bella Stuvart had stood fire" (53).
	<hinsted>	<instead>	1	"[M]ussus Stuvart, who bobs hout on the vay, and hinsted on the jug" (53).
	<hout>	<out>	1	

3.3.5. Irish Background Speakers

This subcorpus comprises 12 reports, in which Corbyn attempts to represent the speech of Irish origin people.

3.3.5.1. Short Vowels

RP /e/ (the DRESS vowel) is represented by means of <i>, as in <gintilman>, <gintilmin>, <gintilmins>, <gintleman>, <ricolick> 'recollect' and <illigant>. Hickey explains that this vowel is commonly raised to /ɪ/ in some varieties of Irish English, especially before nasals ("Irish" 76). Despite this feature is widespread among English dialects, the *EDD* confirms the usage of the forms <gintleman> and <illigant> in Ireland: "By me sowl it's a raal gintleman" (qtd. in *EDD* s.v. *gintleman*), "Saint Kairn gev him an illigant wake and a beautiful berrin'" (qtd. in *EDD* s.v. *illigant*).

RP /æ/ (the TRAP vowel) is represented by means of <e>, as in <ketch>. Although Hickey explains that there is a great allophony in this vowel sound in Irish English ("Irish" 73), the *EDD* acknowledges its widespread use in Scotland and across England, especially in the North, in the Midlands and even in the Southwest with a similar spelling: "I've a-ketcht a scoor o' wants in thicky mead" (qtd. in *EDD* s.v. *ketch*). On the other hand, according to the *OED*, the most typical form for this verb is found in Irish English under the spelling <o>, with forms such as <cotch>: "If he cotches a hould o' ye he'd tear ye to tatthers" (qtd. in *EDD* s.v. *cotch*).

RP /ʌ/ (the STRUT vowel) is represented by means of <i>, as in <jist> and <sich>. As Burridge claims, "general raising was typical of Irish English up to the late nineteenth-century after which it receded." Moreover, she explains that "high vowel realisations in some words (like <such>) are not innovations but rather relics of Old English (<swilc>)" (304). Together with this, the *EDD* confirms their widespread use across England and Ireland, and it could even represent an eye-dialect spelling of the weakened forms of Standard English <just> and <such>. On the other hand, the variant spellings could suggest a front pronunciation of the sound typical of the Southwest of England, given that as Upton and Widdowson put it, "[i], found in Devon and Cornwall, is recorded in the *Dialect Grammar*, as being used in Somerset and Devon" (27) in contrast to other dialectal realisations such as [ʌ], [u] and [ɒ].

RP /ə/ (the COMMA vowel) is represented by means of different spellings, such as <er>, as in <hinnercent>; and <i>, as in <pisthill>. Both of them can be found in the *EDD* with a similar spelling. As for <hinnercent>, the word is attested in the *EDD* in Somerset and Devon: "Off went Polly, innercent seemin'ly as a guse-chick" (qtd. in *EDD* s.v. *innercent*). In a, <pisthill> is attested in several Northern counties: "Just as he

put his heeade by t'deer-cheek a pistil wer fired off" (qtd. in *EDD* s.v. *pistil*). As explained in the consonants' section below, these forms contain /h/-intrusion. However, these spellings may also suggest an eye-dialect form to represent the weak vowel sound.

RP /ʊ/ (the FOOT vowel) is represented by means of <u>, as in <mistuck>. Although the spelling may suggest that the pronunciation could have been "lower[ed] and unround[ed]" from [ʊ] to [ʌ] (Burridge 305), Hickey provides us with the possibility that the realisation of this variant could be "a fronted allophone of /uː/ and /ʊ/, i.e. [ʉ̟(ː)], [as there is] a reduction in the vowel length distinctions" in northern varieties of Irish English ("Irish" 73). In this way, there is a possibility that it may be a case of eye dialect given that the pronunciation would be similar to that in Standard English.

Table 11 Short Vowels (Irish Background Speakers)

RP	Spellings	Standard spellings	Tokens	Examples
/e/	<gintilman>	<gentleman>	2	
	<gintilmin>		2	"[H]e was a paceable, illigant, harmless gintilman" (5).
	<gintilmins>	<gentlemen>	1	
	<gintleman>		1	"Ricolick, says he, dish pisthill's loaded" (6).
	<ricolick>	<recollect>	1	
	<illigant>	<elegant>	2	
/æ/	<ketch>	<catch>	3	"[A] day or two ago he was informed that they had ketched Johnny Cruden" (65).
/ʌ/	<jist>	<just>	1	"I sends my darter arter a pound and a-half of pork sasingers jist to have reddy" (28).
	<sich>	<such>	1	"Hevings forgive you, Mary Han, for telling sich a whopper" (29).
/ə/	<hinnercent>	<innocent>	1	"[Y]er an hinnercent gal" (29).
	<pisthill>	<pistol>	1	"I'm not de great gun, nor the little pisthill neither" (74).
/ʊ/	<mistuck>	<mistook>	1	"It's mistuck her I did for another woman, so I did" (131).

3.3.5.2. Long Vowels

RP /iː/ (the FLEECE vowel) is represented by means of <a>, as in <paceable>, <baste> and <crathur>. The spelling consistency in the three examples may suggest that the pronunciation of this word contains the FACE diphthong (RP /eɪ/), although Burridge claims that it could represent a lowering of /iː/ to /eː/ (304). The *OED* acknowledges the use of <paceable> in Scottish with a similar spelling, and the form <baste>, although used in the North of England, is also attested in Ireland: "The figurandyin' you have wid that baste, … bangs all" (qtd. in *EDD* s.v. *baste*). As for the word <crathur> the *OED* acknowledges its use in Irish English, and it is also attested in the *EDD*: "Mrs. Flannery sat up wid the crathur two nights hand-runnin'" (qtd. in *EDD* s.v. *crathur*).

RP /ɔː/ (the FORCE vowel) is represented by means of <ar>, as in <darter>. The spelling may suggest that the possible pronunciation would be a lowered and unrounded /aː/, which is common in some varieties of Irish English like Ulster Scots (Hickey, "Irish" 77). Although not exclusive, this phonological feature is also present in southwestern varieties of English, as in Dorset, Somerset and Devon: "I zeed 'en in my darter's maps" (qtd. in *EDD* s.v. *daughter*). Moreover, Wakelin confirms that the pronunciation of words like <hawk>, <taught>, <bought> or <daughter> is usually realised with "unrounding (/aː/ = [aː]~[æː]) in Somerset, Wiltshire, Cornwall, Devon and parts of Hants" (26).

Table 12 Long Vowels (Irish Background Speakers)

RP	Spellings	Standard spellings	Tokens	Examples
/iː/	<paceable> <baste> <crathur>	<peaceable> <beast> <creature>	2 1 1	"He was a paceable, illegant, harmless gintilman" (5). "[T]hat baste of a woman as his huffing and blowing afore the Court" (28). "[T]he civilest crathur of the canine genius in this counthrey or any other" (6).
/ɔː/	<darter>	<daughter>	2	"[H]its my darter who screeches, and out I runs" (28).

3.3.5.3. Diphthongs

RP /əʊ/ (the GOAT diphthong) is represented by means of <oo>, as in <provooke>; and <er>, as in <widder>. Regarding <provooke>, Burridge claims that the spelling, which is not attested neither in the *EDD* nor in the *OED*, may suggest a monopthongal pronunciation, either [o:] or [u:] (304). In fact, the former is common in rural Irish environments (Hickey, "Irish" 91) and in the Southwest of England ("/ɔː/ = [ɔː]~[oː]"), while the latter occurs in final position in Southwestern dialects (Wakelin 28). As for <widder>, the spelling may suggest a weakened pronunciation of the final syllable. This form is widespread, as it can be found in Southeastern, Southwestern, Midlands, and even American varieties of English (*EDD* s.v. *widow*).

Table 13 Diphthongs (Irish Background Speakers)

RP	Spellings	Standard spellings	Tokens	Examples
/əʊ/	<provooke> <widder>	<provoke> <widow>	1 1	"Is it me provooke her?" (74). "I'm a widder woman, as has buried two 'usbuns, and expects to bury two more" (74).

3.3.5.4. Consonants

Dentalisation of the alveolar plosives /t/ and /d/ can be found in the forms <counthrey>, <murthered> and <crathur>. As Hickey explains, this dentalisation "is a common characteristic of lower-class Dublin speech and that of other cities ("Irish" 75). In fact, the *EDD* confirms the use of these forms with a similar spelling in Ireland: "An' no one to care what became o' the counthry left starin' an' stark" (qtd. in *EDD* s.v. *counthry*); "The ghost… murthered them clean wi' the fright" (qtd. in *EDD* s.v. *murther*); "Thrath, Sir, you have the crathur at what we call in Ireland a bargain" (qtd. in *EDD* s.v. *crathur*).

The /w/-/v/ exchange, as in <wiolence> and <vorm> is, as Burridge puts it, an anomalous phenomenon in Irish English, a "stereotypical trait of Cockney English" that occurs frequently in Corbyn's Irish English dialogues" (306).

/h/-intrusion, as in <hinnercent>, <pisthill>, <Hireland> or <Hirish>, according to Burridge, "has never been noted as Irish English" (304). However, as Wakelin puts it, "Somerset and parts of Wiltshire and Dorset are traditionally '/h/-areas', [meaning that] … aspiration is retained, as distinct from most other dialect areas, where it is lost" (31). However, /h/ is dropped in words such as <'urt> and <'usband>, but it seems that Corbyn was aware of aspiration as he included an apostrophe indicating that this sound was missing. In addition, Wakelin claims that in some south-western coastal areas, initial /h/ is not retained (31).

Table 14 Consonants (Irish Background Speakers)

RP	Spellings	Standard spellings	Tokens	Examples
/t/, /d/	<counthrey> <murthered> <crathur>	<country> <murdered> <creature>	1 2 1	"[T]he civilest crathur of the canine genius in this counthrey or any other" (6). "Mister Hely had been almost murthered entirely quite" (5).
/w/-/v/	<wiolence> <vorm>	<violence> <worm>	1 1	"I axked her in turns the raison of her wiolence" (28). "[A]s she remarked five, couldn't 'urt a vorm" (7).
ø	<hinnercent> <pisthill> <Hireland> <Hirish> <hashes>	<innocent> <pistol> <Ireland> <Irish> <ashes>	1 1 1 2 1	"[Y]er an hinnercent gal" (29). "I'm not de great gun, nor the little pisthill neither" (74). "[S]he was Hirish, and he'd never been in Hireland" (74). "the bed was in hashes" (39)
/h/	<'urt> <'usband>	<hurt> <husband>	1 1	"[A]s she remarked five, couldn't 'urt a vorm" (7). "[H]er 'model 'usband gave her the magnificent sum of 6d" (64).

3.3.6. Unknown Background Speakers

The last subcorpus is constituted by 23 reports in which Corbyn reproduces dialectal speech but does not provide any information about the speakers' origins.

3.3.6.1. Short Vowels

RP /e/ (the DRESS vowel) is represented by means of <i>, as in <divil>, <divils> and <gintilmin>, probably representing a sound similar to /ɪ/. It is probably an Irish feature, given that, as explained above, /e/ is usually raised to /ɪ/ in Irish English (Hickey, "Irish" 76). However, the spelling <divil> is not exclusive of this variety, as the *EDD* confirms the usage of these spellings throughout Scotland, Ireland and England (*EDD* s.v. *devil*).

RP /ʌ/ (the STRUT vowel) is also represented by means of <i>, as in <infortinite> and <diskivered>. The spelling may suggest that the possible pronunciation would be

/ɪ/, which, as explained before, it may correspond to the typical Irish general raising up to the late nineteenth century (Burridge 304). However, both Wakelin (23) and Upton and Widdowson (27) agree that a dialectal development of /u/ to /ɪ/ is common in the southwest of England, more precisely in Devon and Cornwall. Given that the origin of the speaker is unknown, it could be interpreted as an influence from Corbyn's southwestern background.

Table 15 Short Vowels (Unknown Background Speakers)

RP	Spellings	Standard spellings	Tokens	Examples
/e/	<divil> <divils> <gintilmin>	<devil> <devils> <gentleman>	2 1 1	"Who the divil are you?" (121) "Some thavish divils have cracked old Simpkins" (122). "I've got several of the most respectable and influential gintilmin of Durand's-alley, male and female" (126).
/ʌ/	<infortinite> <diskivered>	<infortunate> <discovered>	2 1	"No; thank Even! I'm not so infortinite" (63). "She diskivered soon after leaving the shop that she had lost £40 in notes" (50).

3.3.6.2. Long Vowels

RP /iː/ (the FLEECE vowel) is represented by means of <ey>, as in <feymale>. The spelling may suggest that the pronunciation of this word can be realised with /eɪ/, as in <grey>. Interesting as it may seem, although the origin is unclear, the *OED* indicates that this form is regional, attested in Dorset with a similar spelling, together with Ireland and Yorkshire (*OED* s.v. *female* n. and adj.). With another spelling, this sound is also represented in <raison>. However, the *OED* confirms that it is a French borrowing so the spelling does not suggest a change in pronunciation (*OED* s.v. *reason*, n.).

Table 16 Long Vowels (Unknown Background Speakers)

RP	Spellings	Standard spellings	Tokens	Examples
/i:/	<feymale>	<female>	1	"I've got several of the most respectable and influential gintilmin of Durand's-alley, male and feymale" (126).
	<raison>	<reason>	1	"I axked her in turns the raison of her wiolence, when she ups with this sthone runs arter me and just as I gets into my own door" (28).

3.3.6.3. Consonants

Dropping of /w/ can be seen in words such as <'ooman>. This feature, which is common before /u/, is be considered an enregistered spelling in the Southwest, as Wakelin puts it (33). Although the EDD confirms its widespread use across England, this spelling is attested in several southwestern counties, like Somerset: "Yo beant a-gwaine to ballyrag my awl 'ooman" (qtd. in *EDD* s.v.).

The /w/-/v/ exchange, which is common in Cockney and was also present in the Irish Background Speakers' subcorpus, is also present in <wiolence> and <vos>.

/h/-intrusion can be seen in words such as <hexplainify>, <himprimiss>, <hindikations>, <hinfluence>, <hinnercent>, or <hockipied>. As stated before, the Southwest, and more precisely Wiltshire and Dorset, are "areas where strong aspiration is retained" (Wakelin 31), which could be evidence for Corbyn's background influence in the representation of non-standard speech.

Dentalisation of /t/ appears in <sthone>. This feature, as explained above, is present in several varieties of English, especially in Irish English and Scots.

The spelling <arter> instead of the standard form <after> is also present in this subcorpus. Interestingly, this form is chiefly southwestern, as it is attested in several

entries in the *EDD*: “Et wel zet arter tha antlebeer lick the doorns of a door” (qtd. in *EDD* s.v. *arter*).

Table 17 Consonants (Unknown Background Speakers)

RP	Spellings	Standard Spellings	Tokens	Examples
/w/	<’ooman> <vos> <vere>	<woman> <was> <where>	2 1 2	“I’ll take yer and introduce you to the old ’ooman” (120). “Himprimiss, is yer sure it vos hi has heaved the stone?” (76) “Vere’s yer mark?” (76)
/v/	<wiolence>	<violence>	1	“I axked[10] her in turns the raison of her wiolence” (28).
∅	<himprimiss> <hindikations> <hinfluence> <hinnercent> <hockipied>	<imprimis> <indications> <influence> <innocent> <occupied>	1 1 1 1 1	“Himprimiss, is yer sure it vos hi has heaved the stone?” (76). “I’ve gotten more hinfluence” (132). “[A]rticles about good hindikations here” (120). “Then the other diggings on this side are pretty well hockipied” (120).
/t/	<sthone>	<stone>	1	“[W]hen she ups with this sthone runs arter me” (28).
/f/	<arter>	<after>	3	“[W]hen she ups with this sthone runs arter me” (28).

3.4. Grammatical Analysis

Together with semi-phonetic spellings, the use of non-standard grammatical features is another weighty strategy to suggest dialectal speech. Corbyn represents non-standard grammar in the conversations that are reproduced in the several reports. When he does not reproduce conversations in direct style, grammar is represented in Standard English forms. In this section, non-standard grammatical features have been organised according to Ihailainen’s classification of Southwestern dialect features in *The Dialects of England since 1776* (1994) and Wakelin’s *The Southwest of England* (1986).

[10] This form, <axked>, only used here, is anomalous and may be considered a transcription error due to the closeness of the metathesis and the standard spelling.

Given that the dialect markers that appear in the corpus are not exclusively representative of the Southwest, table 18 (both part I and II)[11] shows a summary of the dialect features found in the corpus, the geographical background of the speakers in which dialect markers appear, and the locations where the *EDD* and the *OED* confirm the usage of the different spellings.

Table 18 Grammatical Analysis: Verbal Forms and Negations (Part I)

Features	**Examples**	**Speakers' background**	**Attested in…**
Non-standard *-s*[12]	"I sends my darter arter a pound of sasingers" (28). "They jumps on me" (115). "Feelosofers calls it" (53).	Scottish, AAVE/NY English, London, Irish, Unknown	English regional (Sánchez-García and Ruano-Garcia 58)
"Regularised" verbs	"He cumed home" (29). "'I seed,' quoth Mary Anne" (29). "He never knowed" (53).	London Irish, Unknown	North, East Midlands, Southeast, Southwest (*EDD*)
Verbs with a-	"[Y]ou're the gentleman he was a talking about" (60). "I'm a coming" (49). "I've been a living with him" (56).	London, Irish, Unknown	Southwest, Southeast, Midlands, North, Scots (*EDD*)
Double negatives	"[H]e's never bit nobody yet" (6). "[H]e'd not got no treasure" (52).	Irish, Unknown	English regional, South of England (Beal *Introduction* 34)[13]
-na negation	"I dinna doot he'll ensthruct ye" (65).	Scottish	Scots, North (*EDD*)

[11] Table 18 has been divided into two parts due to space limitations.

[12] According to the *Survey of English Dialects*, non-standard *-s*, although attested in the Southwest, has been "amply documented in non-standard Englishes" (Sánchez-García and Ruano-Garcia 58), hence the difficulty in providing examples from secondary sources.

[13] Beal explains that despite being considered "a general 'non-standard' feature, negative concord or multiple negation is, in fact, more characteristic of speech in the South of England than that of the North" (*Introduction* 34).

the entire corpus has been analysed. Therefore, the aim of this lexical analysis is to acknowledge the use of non-standard lexis in the areas represented by Corbyn and to account for those items that could hint at the presence of southwestern influence in the corpus.

Results reveal that none of the non-standard lexis used in the corpus is exclusively southwestern. However, Burridge's analysis contains information about the lexicon used in some of the reports that include dialectal speech. Regarding Irish background speakers, she claimed that these reports "reveal a dialectal mixed bag of lexical items, some clearly Irish, others drawn from the different dialect sources that came together to form the colonial slang of the time." On the one hand, words like *gossoon*[14] ('boy') and *polthoge*[15] ('thump') are chiefly Irish English forms that are attested in the *EDD*: "As if he was a lump iv a gossoon" (qtd. in *EDD* s.v. *gossoon*), "John Grimes hot him a polthoge" (qtd. in *EDD* s.v. *polthoge*). On the other hand, the subcorpus presents some other words like *whopper* ('a great lie'), *lushington* ('drunkard') and *trap* ('constable'), which are colonial slang forms, according to Burridge (308). Other lexical items are *gemman* and *gemmen*, as in "The gemman in dat box dere" (Corbyn 39), which "represent a nonstandard pronunciation of *gentleman*" (*OED* s.v. *gemman*, n.), but they are not exclusively Irish forms. Regarding unknown background speakers, Burridge claims that their language "is portrayed generally as fairly standard [and] it appears to differ little from current-day AusE." The items that she includes in her analysis are mainly slang and cant forms that are not representative of any variety in particular. Examples from this subcorpus are *peepers* ('eyes',

[14] "Dunn axes how I did, and caught hold of my hand and squeezed it, so he did, and then passes my hand to the other gossoon" (Corbyn 13).
[15] "Miss Darby runs at me with the broom, and hits me a polthoge on the shouldur" (Corbyn 65).

'spectacles'), *bilk* ('cheat', 'deceive'), *cove* ('customer') and *fork out* ('hand over', 'pay') (315). The form *allers*, as in "[T]hat work allers makes him mortal hungry" (Corbyn 28), is a colloquial expression meaning 'always' that appears in this subcorpus. According to the *OED*, it is frequently found "in representations of U.S. regional (southern) speech" (*OED* s.v. *allers*, adv.). However, the *EDD* acknowledges its widespread usage in several varieties of English, as in Scots, throughout England and in American English (*EDD* s.v. *allers*).

As for the Chinese Pidgin English subcorpus, which has not been analysed by Burridge or any other study, there are remarkable forms such as *massa*, as in "[N]o massa, notink but lilly piecey roasty child!" (Corbyn 105). According to the *OED*, it means "master" and it is chiefly used in "representations of African-American, Caribbean and Australian Aboriginal speech … as a respectful form of address" (*OED* s.v. *massa*, n.). Very interestingly, the form *padres*, as in "[A] supposed convert to Christianity, of whom the padres entertained great hopes" (Corbyn 104) appears in this subcorpus, meaning "a Roman Catholic Priest." It is not unexpected that this form, probably "borrowed from Italian, Spanish or Portuguese," (*OED* s.v. *padre*, n.) appears in this subcorpus since it tries to reflect a pidgin speaker.

Interesting as it may seem, there are three words (*arguify*, *postesses* and *mayhap*) which are attested in the *EDD* confirming its usage in the Southwest. However, the latter does not fit in this hypothesis since it can be found in a report containing a speaker with Scottish background: "'I'm na a natif av Saydnay, and theerfur am unable to gie ye the geographical posithun av Market-lane, but mayhap ye ken the Sheriff, and if ye'll just gang to him I dinna doot he'll ensthruct ye as to the desirable spot'" (Corbyn 65). This sentence includes several examples of enregistered

forms, such as the verbs *gie* (‘to give’), *gang* (‘to go’), *ken* (‘can’) and *dinna* (the negative form of the auxiliary ‘do’), which are attested in Scots in the *EDD*.

As for *arguify*, as in “He said he had a great … lawyer, as could arguify for him through the epochs of ages” (Corbyn 60), it can be defined as “a colloquial and dialectal equivalent of argue, usually with the idea of pertinacious or petty argument” (*OED* s.v. *argufy*, v.), results from the *EDD* confirm that, although widespread throughout England, it is highly concentrated in the Southwest, especially in the counties of Dorset, Somerset and Devon. It also states that it can be found under different spellings, such as <argufy> and <argify>: “’Tidden no use tü argify no longer” (qtd. in *EDD* s.v. *arguify*).

Regarding *postesses*, as in “[O]ne of the firemen assured Mrs. Fitzgerald that they had douted the fire, but the bed was in hashes, although the post and postesses was safe” (Corbyn 39), it can be defined as “a support or column of timber or (later) some other strong material.” In addition, we find that this form is “regional, chiefly southern and midlands” (*OED* s.v. *post*, n.), and the *EDD* acknowledges its principal usage in Devon: “He stands just like a pictur’, with the postesses to either side of him” (qtd. in *EDD* s.v. *postesses*).

4. Conclusions

This dissertation has aimed to shed light on the diaspora of English dialects in Australia, given that “generally, histories of English have concentrated … on Standard English in England, with an occasional nod in the direction of the USA and with no acknowledgement of the … sizeable communities of native speakers in Australia” (Watts and Trudgill 1). Moreover, this paper has explained the linguistic landscape of

Australia and the formation of AusE in the 19th century, together with revealing findings on Corbyn, which were crucial for the analysis.

After having analysed the phonological, grammatical and lexical strategies for the written representation of dialect, one could argue that Corbyn was acutely aware of the great linguistic variation that existed in Australia in the 19th century. This analysis has shown that Corbyn knew how to faithfully reflect the main characteristics of the dialects of the many that were tried in that courtroom in Sydney, especially the phonological traits. The deviant spellings that he used corresponded to a large extent to the varieties that he tried to represent, which was corroborated by the *EDD*, the *OED* and several linguistic handbooks. Regarding grammatical aspects, results indicate that the traits used to represent dialectal speech were used in several varieties of English and not characteristic of any dialect in particular. As for the lexical section, it is worth noting the use of slang, cant and colloquial forms in the majority of the subcorpora, together with the Scottish Background Speaker's subcorpus, which showed certain enregistered forms. Interesting as it may seem, the analysis has also shed light on the Chinese Pidgin, AAVE and NY English speakers, something which previous studies failed to do.

The study has also revealed that despite Corbyn knew how to portray the different varieties, he was slightly biased by his own place of origin, the Southwest of England. This conclusion has been reached by investigating the different varieties represented in the text. In phonological terms, this bias may be seen in the glottalisation of the initial dental fricative /ð/, /h/-intrusion and the use of enregistered southwestern forms such as <arter>, <darter> and <'ooman>. It is worth noting that the majority of this traits were found in the Unknown Background Speakers' subcorpus, although they

can be found as well in the other subcorpora. As for the grammatical and lexical features, there is no evidence of Southwestern traits that could hint at the influence of Corbyn's origin, except for two words in terms of lexis, which according to the *EDD* were principally found in this area.

On the whole, Corbyn's set of reports build a picture of the Australian linguistic landscape in the 19th century, in which he was able to discern with accuracy the so-called linguistic melting pot. Despite the reports reveal an emerging standard language, the linguistic traits used to characterise non-standard speech have helped us understand the place of origin of the people that he represented, as well as the influence of his own speech, which in some cases was crucial to explain variability in the representation of spellings.

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